

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 ACDA-19 CIAE-00 PM-07 INR-10 L-03

NEA-10 NSAE-00 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 USIA-15 TRSE-00

MBFR-04 SAJ-01 DODE-00 SS-15 NSC-10 H-03 OIC-04 DRC-01

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R 071947Z SEP 73

FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1486

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 4218

E.O. 11652: GDS: 12 31-79

TAGS: PFOR, NATO

SUBJECT: CSCE - PRINCIPLES GUIDING RELATIONS AMONG STATES

GENEVA FOR USDEL CSCE

REF: A) USNATO 4089; B) USNATO 4055 NOTAL

SUMMARY. AT SENIOR POLADS MEETING SEPTEMBER 6, FRENCH REP CIRCULATED DRAFT DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES CONTAINING REVISIONS BEYOND THOSE REPORTED REF B. FRENCH REP SUGGESTED THAT WHILE ALL ALLIED CONSIDERATIONS WERE NOT REFLECTED IN REVISED TEXT, ALLIES SHOULD BE ABLE TO RALLY AROUND IT IN GENEVA. ON TACTICS, FRENCH REP SAID PARIS WAS INCLINED TABLE DRAFT DECLARATION EARLY IN PROCEEDINGS BUT AFTER VARIOUS EXPLANATORY PAPERS HAD BEEN PRESENTED. ACTION REQUESTED: FURTHER DISCUSSION WILL BE HELD SEPTEMBER 11 AT WHICH TIME WE WOULD WELCOME GUIDANCE ON LATEST FRENCH TEXT, CONFIDENTIAL

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IN PARTICULAR, WHETHER WE CAN ACCEPT WORDING OF OPERATIVE PARAS 1, 6, 8 AND 10. END SUMMARY.

1. PRESENTING REVISED TEXT, FRENCH REP OBSERVED THAT

PARIS HAD ATTEMPTED TAKE ALLIED VIEWS INTO ACCOUNT BUT HAD BEEN UNABLE ACCOMMODATE CERTAIN POSITIONS. HE EXPRESSED THE HOPE, HOWEVER, THAT REVISED TEXT WOULD BE GENERALLY ACCEPTABLE AND HELD OUT POSSIBILITY OF FURTHER CHANGES PRIOR TO ITS PRESENTATION IN GENEVA. HE REPEATED COMMENT THAT FRENCH WOULD NOT BE OFFENDED IF OTHER ALLIES FELT OBLIGED TO PROPOSE AMENDMENTS AT GENEVA. HE EXPLAINED THAT PARIS WAS PLANNING TABLE TEXT "WITHOUT DELAY" WHICH HE SUBSEQUENTLY CLARIFIED AS MEANING AFTER VARIOUS EXPLANATORY PAPERS HAD BEEN TABLED BUT BEFORE DISCUSSION OF SOVIET TEXT BEGAN.

2. PARAGRAPH-BY-PARAGRAPH REVIEW OF LATEST FRENCH TEXT REVEALED FOLLOWING CHANGES FROM VERSION TRANSMITTED REF B:

A. PREAMBULAR PARA 2. REVISED TO READ AS FOLLOWS:

"ESTIMATING THAT PEACE AND SECURITY IN EUROPE AND PROGRESS IN COOPERATION AMONG ALL THE STATES REPRESENTED AT THE CSCE ARE OF AN ESSENTIAL IMPORTANCE FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF WORLD PEACE." FRENCH REP POINTED OUT THAT TEXT HAD BEEN REVISED TO ELIMINATE DISTINCTION WHICH SEVERAL DELEGATIONS BELIEVED WAS DRAWN BETWEEN EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA IN PREVIOUS VERSION. CANADIAN REP EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR THIS CHANGE.

B. PREAMBULAR PARA 6. OPENING PHRASE HAS BEEN CHANGED TO READ "NOTING THEIR COMMON ADHERENCE TO A CERTAIN NUMBER OF FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES..." FRENCH REP POINTED OUT THAT EXPRESSION "IDENTITY OF VIEWS" HAD BEEN CHANGED AT REQUEST OF UK AND OTHERS.

C. OPERATIVE PARA 7. FINAL SENTENCE HAS BEEN STRENGTHENED TO READ "THEY PROCLAIM IN CONSEQUENCE THEIR DETERMINATION TO RESPECT AND PROMOTE THESE RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS, IN PARTICULAR THE FREEDOMS OF THOUGHT, OF BELIEF, OF RELIGION, AND OF CONVICTION."

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D. OPERATIVE PARA 9. FIRST SENTENCE HAS BEEN REVISED TO READ "THE PARTICIPATING STATES WILL COOPERATE WITH EACH OTHER IN THE ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, CULTURAL, TECHNICAL, SCIENTIFIC, COMMERCIAL, AND OTHER AREAS WITH A VIEW TO PROMOTING THE RESPECT FOR THE RIGHTS OF MAN AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS." IN SECOND SENTENCE,, ORDER OF WORDS "INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE" AND "PROVATE AND OFFICIAL" AHS BEEN REVERSED TO GIVE PRECEDENCE TO INDIVIDUAL AND PRIVATE ASPECT OF CONTACTS.

D. OPERATIVE PARA 12. PHRASE "AND MEMBERSHIP FOR SOME OF THEM IN AN ALLIANCE" HAS BEEN

ADDED AT END OF PARA. FRENCH REP EXPLAINED THAT THIS REFLECTED DESIRE EXPRESSED BY US REP AT PREVIOUS MEETINGS TO STRENGTHEN ANTI-DREZHNEV DOCTRINE ASPECT OF TEXT. (COMMENT: THIS APPARENTLY REPRESENTS EFFORT RESPOND TO POINT IN PARA 1(B) OF STATE 146620. COMMENT).

E. OPERATIVE PARA 13. WORD "PROCEDURES" HAS BEEN REPLACED BY "METHODS." FRENCH REP SAID THIS CHANGE WAS MADE AT REQUEST OF BELGIAN REP IN ORDER AVOID IMPLICATION THAT EUROPEAN COLLECTIVE SECURITY SYSTEM WAS ENVISAGED.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 NATO 4218

3. IN FURTHER DISCUSSION LATEST TEXT, SEVERAL REMAINING POINTS OF DIFFERENCE EMERGED. UK REP NOTED THAT LONDON CONTINUED TO HAVE PROBLEMS WITH WORK "GOVERNING" IN TITLE BUT WAS PARTICULARLY INTERESTED IN ENSURING THAT ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF FRENCH TEXT READ "GUIDING PRINCIPLES." US REP SUPPORTED UK REP ON THIS POINT. US REP NOTED OUR PROPOSED AMENDMENT TO OPERATIVE PARA 1 PER STATE 163110 AND ADVISED THAT WE MIGHT HAVE TO RETURN TO THIS POINT SUBSEQUENTLY. (COMMENT: PLEASE ADVISE HOW WE SHOULD PROCEED IN FUTHER DISCUSSIONS OF THIS POINT. END COMMENT.) US REP ALSO NOTED OUR RESERVATIONS ON LAST SENTENCE OF OPERATIVE PARA 6 WHICH HE SAID REFLECTED OUR CONCERN OVER OPEN-ENDED LEGAL IMPLICATIONS OF PRESENT WORKING. (COMMENT: PLEASE ADVISE WHETHER WE CAN ACCEPT EXISTING WORDING. END COMMENT.

4. FRENCH REP EXPLAINED THAT PARIS HAD BEEN UNABLE AGREE TO REVISION PROPOSED BY CANADIANS IN OPERATIVE PARA 8 (SELF-DETERMINATION). HE EXPRESSED REGRET OVER CONFIDENTIAL

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THIS PROBLEM BUT SUGGESTED THAT EXISTING FRENCH TEXT WAS BALANCED IN THAT CERTAIN ALLIES, I.E. THE NETHERLANDS, WOULD HAVE PREFERRED EVEN STRONGER TEXT. CANADIAN REP SAID HE ASSUMED OTTAWA WOULD BE UNHAPPY WITH FRENCH POSITION AND EXPLAINED THAT WHILE CANADIAN INTERNAL CONSIDERATIONS WERE AN IMPORTANT ELEMENT IN OTTAWA'S POSITION, CANADA WAS ALSO CONCERNED OVER IMPLICATION IN FRENCH TEXT THAT ALLIES WISHED ENCOURAGE SEPARATIST MOVEMENTS IN COUNTRIES SUCH AS YUGOSLAVIA AND USSR. LENGTHY DISCUSSION OF THIS POINT REVEALED THAT AGREEMENT AMONG ALLIES ON TEXT COVERING SELF-DETERMINATION PRINCIPLE WILL BE MOST DIFFICULT. US REP, WITH SUPPORT FROM CANADA, FRG AND TURKEY, RECALLED THEIR PREFERENCE FOR TREATMENT OF SELF-DETERMINATION IN ORIGINAL NATO DRAFT (ISD/39).

5. TURNING TO OPERATIVE PARA 10 (FULFILLMENT OF OBLIGATIONS UNDER INTERNATIONAL LAW), US REP RECALLED OUR CONCERN THAT SECOND SENTENCE OF FRENCH TEXT COULD BE SEEN AS UNDERWRITING AGREEMENTS SUCH AS SOVIET-CZECH FRIENDSHIP TREATY AND SAID THAT WE MIGHT HAVE TO RETURN TO THIS POINT SUBSEQUENTLY. FRENCH REP POINTED TO ADDITION OF PHRASE AT END OF OPERATIVE PARA 12 REGARDING MEMBERSHIP IN MILITARY ALLIANCES AND SUGGESTED THAT THIS COVERED US POINT. (COMMENT: PLEASE ADVISE WHETHER WE CAN ACCEPT EXISTING TEXT. END COMMENT.

6. BELGIAN REP AGAIN OBJECTED TO INCLUSION OF OPERATIVE PARA 15 RELATING TO REQUEST THAT DECLARATION BE BROUGHT TO ATTENTION OF UNSYG. HE ARGUED THAT FROM TACTICAL POINT OF VIEW INCLUSION OF THIS PARA WAS UNWISE, ALTHOUGH HE AGREED THAT SOMETHING ALONG THOSE LINES WOULD INEVITABLY HAVE TO BE ACCEPTED IN FINAL TEXT. FRENCH REP RECALLED THAT PARA HAD BEEN ADDED AT REQUEST OF UK DELEGATION AND INDICATED THAT PARIS WAS PREPARED TO DROP IT IF ALL OTHER DELEGATIONS SO DESIRED. THIS POINT WILL BE FURTHER DISCUSSED AT SEPTEMBER 11 MEETING.

7. COMMENT: FRENCH HAVE GRADUALLY, AND PERHAPS, GRUDGINGLY ADJUSTED THEIR TEXT TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT SOME ALLIED CONCERNS ALTHOUGH CERTAIN IMPORTANT POINTS, PARTICULARLY TREATMENT OF SELF-DETERMINATION, REMAIN DISAGREED. WE WOULD WELCOME DEPARTMENT'S GUIDANCE AS INDICATED ABOVE FOR SEPTEMBER 11 CONFIDENTIAL

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MEETING. FRENCH TEXT MAY ALSO BE SUBJECT OF FURTHER DISCUSSION

AT SEPTEMBER 14 MEETING WITH MEMBERS OF CSCE DELEGATIONS.
END COMMENT.
RUMSFELD

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